

PART III

Clusius' translations and illustrations:
Processing information

Two glimpses of America from a distance: Carolus Clusius and Nicolás Monardes

José Pardo Tomás

Introduction

In 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias included an entry on tobacco in what is considered to be the first Spanish dictionary, his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*. Covarrubias defined tobacco as a ‘well-known plant’, and mentioned both its medicinal use and its popular abuse, which he categorised as ‘pure vice’, though discounting the opinion of those who believed that there was diabolical intervention (*hechizo*) in the fervour with which the Christians avidly sought tobacco. He does not mention the American origin of the plant; in fact, he even declared that tobacco ‘was used in Pliny’s day’, citing Book 25 of the *Historia naturalis* as evidence. But that Covarrubias knew and had read somewhat more than Pliny is evident when he continues:

The first to discover it was the devil, making his priests and ministers take it when they had to make prophecies to those who consulted them, and the demon revealed to them what they understood by conjecture through that stupefied state.¹

This is clearly an allusion to the significance given to the consumption of tobacco and related practices among certain Amerindian cultures, although here the Indian has been transformed directly into the devil. There can be no doubt that Covarrubias’ description is based on a reading of one of the texts that offered a similar account of the use of tobacco by the Amerindians. By 1611, some twenty to thirty texts that contained a description of this practice were circulating in Europe. One of the most accessible of them (because there were various editions in Spanish, Latin, Italian, English, and French) was the *Historia medicinal* by Nicolás Monardes, which contains the following passage:

[...] when there was a matter of great importance among the *indios*, for which the *caciques* or leaders of the people needed to consult [...] the priest took some leaves of tobacco in their presence [...] and when the plant had taken effect he remembered

¹ S. de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611).

and replied to them in accordance with the fantasies and illusions that he saw while in that state; and he interpreted them as he chose, or as the Devil advised him.²

Irrespective of whether Covarrubias used this or a similar source, the important point here is the peculiar way in which the author made use of the text, attributing the role of the discoverer of tobacco to the devil. Although the devil was already mentioned in Monardes' text – and in Clusius' Latin version of it³ –, Covarrubias actually turned him into the sole protagonist of the discovery of tobacco and suppressed any explicit reference to the Amerindians, or even to the American origin of the plant.

Nora Catelli and Marietta Gargatagli have drawn attention to the scholarly neglect of what they called 'scenes of translation' between Spain – and by extension, the whole of Europe – and America. The anthology of texts with which they began to fill this lacuna – whose very title is taken from Covarrubias' text on tobacco⁴ – certainly contains much that is noteworthy, but if there is any common denominator among those texts, it is that (to quote the authors) 'the scenes of translation, near or far, Spanish or American, display a repetitive and shared mechanism. They are articulated as a continuous series of strategies of omission of the other, who is always an enemy who has already been characterised as satanic and anthropophagous, depraved, murderous, selfish or cruel'.⁵ To a greater or lesser extent, the discursive and mental strategies that favour that 'omission of the other' can be found in practically the entire European literature of the sixteenth century on the New World,⁶ even though, as James Amelang recently pointed out, that immense textual corpus constitutes 'the most extensive as well as innovative ethnographic project of the sixteenth century'.⁷ It is an intellectual project that the Europeans developed above all to present an account of themselves rather than to

² N. Monardes, *Primera y segunda y tercera partes de la historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, que sirven en medicina* (Seville, 1580), 36v-37r. The first edition of Part II, containing the passage cited, was published in Seville in 1571; all of the present citations are taken from the 1580 edition because it is the most complete and accessible now that there is a facsimile with an introductory essay by J.M. López Piñero (Madrid, 1989).

³ His Latin version runs: 'Etenim Indos moris erat Sacerdotes de bellorum evetu, aliisque magni momenti negociis consulere. Consultus sacerdos, istius plantae folia sicca urebat [...] Discussa eius fumi facultate, ad se redibat, referebatque negotium cum daemone contulisse'; N. Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis ex Occidentali India delatis, quorum in medicina usus est [...] interprete Carolo Clusio* (Antwerp, 1574), 25.

⁴ N. Catelli and M. Gargatagli, *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio. Escenas de la traducción en España y América: relatos, leyes y reflexiones sobre los otros* (Barcelona, 1998). The texts by Covarrubias: 245-248.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶ T. Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris, 1982).

⁷ J. Amelang, 'Mourning laments becomes eclectic: ritual, lament and the problem of continuity', *Past and present*, 187 (2005), 3-31, here 23.

understand that recently discovered New World. In other words, the Europeans wrote about America not to translate the world of others, but to translate their own world.⁸ This translation was intended primarily for themselves and secondarily for the colonised, whom it was essential to dominate culturally and politically,⁹ converting them into subjects, Christians, and labour power to exploit the natural resources of the newly found lands.¹⁰

In view of this, as Peter Mason showed more than a decade ago, we believe that, in spite of all that has been written on the subject, it is still useful to consider some of the various cultural mechanisms deployed by the Europeans in the complex and exciting process of the construction or invention of America. While Mason's strategy was to analyse the texts and images of 'so-called monstrous human races' produced by the Europeans to reveal 'their place within the European imaginary and their role as translators of the New World',¹¹ we consider that the same texts and images should also be analysed in relation to plants and other natural products.¹² In our view, the American

⁸ Although their object of study is the native languages and Spanish, Catelli and Gargatagli seem to defend the same idea when they write: 'The Spaniards did not translate the native languages into Spanish, but they translated Spanish into the native languages', *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio*, 17.

⁹ 'Translation is above all political literature, literature of the *polis*: it seeks to intervene in the existing tradition, to modify it, negate it, recreate it, change it. And it simultaneously imagines and negates the *others* as it does so, with the excessive passion discussed by Bloom (*Agon. Towards a theory of revisionism*, New York, 1982), that 'initial and asymmetrical' passion (love and hatred) which marks and embraces its actors in the violence of history'; Catelli and Gargatagli, *El tabaco que fumaba Plinio*, 19.

¹⁰ This is not the place to review the long historiographical debate triggered by the publication of J.H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1970); although it is still very stimulating to read works like S.J. Greenblatt, *Marvelous possessions: The wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991); A. Grafton, *New worlds, ancient texts: The power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), and A. Pagden, *European encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, 1993). These pages have also benefited from some of the ideas put forward in the more recent literature: B. Schmidt, 'Exotic allies: The Dutch-Chilean encounter and the (failed) conquest of America', *Renaissance quarterly*, 52 (1999), 440-473; J. Cañizares-Esguerra, 'New World, new stars: Patriotic astrology and the invention of Indian and Creole bodies in colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650', *American historical review*, 104 (1999), 33-68; J. Carrillo, 'Taming the visible: Word and image in Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 399-431; and F. Egmond and P. Mason, 'These are people who eat raw fish': Contours of the ethnographic imagination in the sixteenth century', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 311-339.

¹¹ P. Mason, *Deconstructing America. Representations of the other* (London, 1990), 7.

¹² For some forays into this field, see J. Pardo-Tomás, 'Le immagini delle piante americane nell'opera di Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo (1478-1557)', in G. Olmi, L. Tongiorgi and A. Zanca (eds), *Natura-cultura. L'interpretazione del mondo fisico nei testi e nelle immagini* (Florence, 2000), 163-188; 'Imago naturae: historia natural, materia médica y nuevos mundos', *Historia*, 16/24 (2000), 25-40; *El tesoro natural de América. Colonialismo y ciencia en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 2002); 'Tra 'opinioni' e 'dispareri' rappresentazioni della flora americana nell'erbario di Pier'Antonio Michiel (1510-1576)', in G. Olmi and L. Tongiorgi (eds.), *La natura e il corpo. Nature and body. Studi in memoria di Attilio Zanca* (Florence, 2006), 73-100.

plants that feature in the European texts and images can be analysed as another of those efficacious ‘translators of the New World’, as well as one of the most clear-cut mechanisms, not only of the omission of the other, of his or her culture, and of its role in conferring meaning on those plants, but also of pure and simple cultural expropriation.

Thus, although the main purpose of this contribution is to analyse how Clusius translated Monardes, we should not lose sight of the fact that there is more at stake. For Monardes translated the Amerindians – on a much larger scale than he was prepared to admit – even though he always did so via other translations: those which his many eye-witnesses brought him from there concerning plants, their names (sometimes in the language of the other),¹³ their shapes, colours, scents and properties, in the Aristotelian sense of the term, but also concerning the remedies that the other prepared from them and the effects that those remedies produced on the bodies of different individuals. Monardes translated it all into Spanish. That was the text of texts that Clusius took to translate into Latin, adding a series of notes with his own comments. This process of translation was extremely complex and highly mediated by agents and voices that had little connection with Clusius’ own work, and which were not even required to give meaning to the erudite and bookish learning of Carolus Clusius, as we shall see in the course of analysing his translation of Monardes into Latin and his commentaries.

Although this cultural operation was not unique at the time, it proceeded in the opposite direction to the others. Monardes’ work was edited and translated during the same period into Italian, English and French,¹⁴ but it is important to emphasise that Clusius’ translation was from Spanish into Latin. This was the exact opposite of the Renaissance practice of translation, which passed from the prestigious Greek or Latin of the original to the vernacular.¹⁵ In fact,

¹³ On the practice of recording Amerindian names as a mechanism of appropriation on the part of the coloniser, see the interesting analysis of the work of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo by J. Carrillo, ‘Naming difference: The politics of naming in Fernandez de Oviedo’s *Historia general y natural de las Indias*’, *Science in context*, 16 (2003), 489–504.

¹⁴ After some partial translations into Italian (1570, 1574) and French (1572, 1588), Parts I and II of Monardes’ work were translated into Italian: *Due altri libri parimente di quelle cose che si portano dall’Indie Occidentali* (Venice, 1575); Parts I–III were translated into English: *Ioyfull newes out of the neve founde worlde, wherein in declared the rare singular vertues [...] with their applications, aswell of phisicke as chirurgerie* (London, 1577) and French: *Histoire des simples medicaments apportés des Terres Neuves, desquels on se sert en la medecine* (Lyon, 1602). On the Italian translations, see J. Pardo-Tomás, ‘Obras españolas sobre historia natural y materia médica americanas en la Italia del siglo XVI’, *Asclepio*, 43 (1991), 51–94, here 55–57 and 71–79. For the others see: J.M. López-Piñero, ‘Introducción’, in N. Monardes, *La historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales (1565–1574)* (Madrid, 1989), 9–74, here 23–27.

¹⁵ S.S. Gravelle, ‘The Latin-vernacular question and humanist theory of language and culture’, *Journal of the history of ideas*, 49/3 (1988), 367–386; F. Waquet, *Latin, or the empire of a sign* (New York, 2001).

Clusius' movement counter to the prevailing tendency entails a further paradox, since one of his purposes was to extend the knowledge of the text of Monardes among those 'who are not familiar with the Spanish tongue',¹⁶ – an audience that was taken to be larger than that of Spanish-speaking readers. Perhaps, however, we should speak not of a simple operation to reach a wider audience, but of an attempt to encode the information contained in the work of Monardes in a language that was the exclusive preserve of the cultural élite of prelates, nobles and scholars, and who are amply reflected in the names, citations and references contained in Clusius' annotations to the text of the physician of Seville.

Nicolás Monardes and the Historia medicinal: the reduction of Amerindian knowledge to the medicinal and commercial utility of the Christians

A native of Seville,¹⁷ the son of a Genoese bookseller, Nicolás Bautista Monardes began to practise medicine in his home town around 1533 after returning from the university of Alcalá de Henares, where he had graduated in philosophy and the humanities in 1530, and in medicine in 1533. The grandson on his mother's side of the physician and surgeon Martín de Alfaro, he married Catalina, the daughter of the physician García Pérez de Morales, in 1537. This connection with physicians on both sides of the family enabled him to secure a good position in the world of medical practice in the city, and for the next fifty years his professional, intellectual and personal life was to be bound to Seville and the practice of medicine. It was thus medical practice that enabled Monardes to acquire social prestige and economic prosperity and conditioned his other two main activities: the publication of medical works centred on healing and medicine, and business activities connected with trade with the Castilian colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. The monopoly of commerce with the Americas conferred on the port of Seville by the Spanish Crown made it a privileged position to obtain an advantageous position in this respect.

Monardes' first four publications appeared between 1536 and 1545: a treatise on *pharmacodiosis* (1536) which defended the classical against the Arab medical tradition; a treatise, written from the same perspective, on the debate

¹⁶ Dedication 'Generoso virtute et eruditione praestanti viro, dn. Thomae Redigero, dn. suo plurimum observando, Carolus Clusius', in N. Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 4.

¹⁷ His precise date of birth is still not known; dates have been proposed between 1493 and 1508. On Monardes: F. Rodríguez-Marín, *La verdadera biografía del Doctor Nicolás Monardes* (Madrid, 1925); F. Guerra, *Nicolás Bautista Monardes. Su vida y su obra* (México, 1961); López-Piñero, 'Introducción'; and Pardo-Tomás, *El tesoro natural*, 77–126.

concerning blood-letting in cases of pleuritis (1539); a third on roses and their medical applications; and an edition in Spanish of a medical treatise written by Juan de Aviñón at the end of the fourteenth century (1545). These works were evidently in accordance with the academic medicinal doctrine of the period. Monardes did not publish a single new work in the next twenty years, although there are signs that, from the 1550s on, his intellectual and commercial interests shifted towards the medicinal products of the Americas, to which he was to dedicate his most important work, the *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias occidentales que sirven al uso de la medicina*, published in Seville in three parts: Part I in 1565, Part II in 1571, and Part III, published together with Parts I and II, in 1574. The complete work was reissued in Seville in 1580. This was the last edition to be published during its author's lifetime.

Monardes' commercial activities connected with the Americas began as early as 1533, when he set up a trading company with Juan Núñez de Herrera, an agent in the settlement of Nombre de Dios, on the continental isthmus of America. The idea of the company was to put African slaves on board for the outbound journey, and to load the ships bound for home with cochineal, a dye that was in great demand by the European textile manufacturers, as well as certain American medicinal products that were also highly profitable, particularly guajacum (used in the treatment of *morbus gallicus*), aromatic resins, balsams, cassia, and the purgative Mechoacán-root (similar to rhubarb). The economic success of Monardes' trading activities, however, appears to have declined around 1563, when his partner died. Four years later, when faced with the claims of his creditors, Monardes sought refuge in the monastery of Regina Coeli in Seville to escape prison. From there he negotiated terms with the authorities to get out of bankruptcy, pledging to pay back in instalments the sum of almost twenty-five million *maravedies* that he owed; he was freed on those conditions in late 1568 or early 1569. Everything seems to indicate that Monardes converted the publication of the *Historia medicinal*, which was initiated in those very years, into a means of recovering his lost fortune, offering a source of sharing in the profits that was more secure than commercial trade in those products. In fact, he appears to have substantially recovered his economic position by the time of his death in 1588.

There can be no doubt of the role that Monardes' experience as a medical practitioner played in the composition of the *Historia medicinal*. Besides waiting upon a group of patients from among the aristocratic and ecclesiastical élites of the city (the Archbishop of Seville and future Inquisitor General, the Duchess of Béjar, the Duke of Alcalá), Monardes also practised among other layers of local society: merchants and businessmen, pilots and mariners, friars and soldiers, and visitors passing through the city, which was the only port for those setting out for or returning from the Americas. Moreover, this all provided him

with different occasions for carrying out a type of medical practice that included testing the effects of various medicaments, both of local and of American origin. This wealth of therapeutic experiences had another important consequence, since his patients became his principal informants when, after almost forty years of medical practice, he began to compile the work.

The first part of the *Historia medicinal*, was published in 1565, is dedicated to the Archbishop of Seville. Carolus Clusius had visited Seville only a few months before, although he does not appear to have come across Monardes or his work on that occasion.¹⁸ The first part of the *Historia medicinal* is divided into four main sections, devoted to resins (*caraña*, copal, *tacamahaca*, and the American succedaneum for the classical gum animé), purgatives (especially the Mechoacán root that replaced other common purgatives in the Galenic therapeutic arsenal), ‘three medicines celebrated throughout the world’ (guajacum, China-root – which is also found in the Americas – and the American varieties of sarsaparilla), which are all basically remedies for *morbus gallicus*, and Peruvian balsam (a succedaneum for classical balsam). It would be no exaggeration to affirm that, from the perspective of a physician based in the metropolis on the banks of the River Guadalquivir, the other side of the Atlantic was fundamentally seen as a sort of ‘empire of succedanea’, a place from where it was possible to extract medicinal products similar to those included in the classical therapeutic arsenal of Galenic medicine, but less expensive, more abundant, and even – as could be demonstrated, if necessary, on the basis of forty years of experience in treatment – more effective. The success of the publication produced an influx of spontaneous informants who brought ‘Doctor Monardes’ a piece of root, the seeds of plants with marvellous effects, or, simply, the tale of a cure thanks to some local remedy.

Those spontaneous testimonies are the basis of Part II, published in 1571, and dedicated to Philip II. The twenty medicinal products of vegetable origin and three of mineral origin contained in Part I were supplemented by another dozen, plus those that could be extracted from the armadillo and other animals like sharks and caymans. Part II opened with a comprehensive study of tobacco (the frontispiece was embellished with a woodcut of the plant), and continued with three long chapters on sassafras, *carlo santo*, and *cebadilla* (a type of wild barley), each with its own illustration. The other chapters are devoted

¹⁸ F.W.T. Hunger, *Charles de l'Ecluse (Carolus Clusius), Nederlandsch kruidkundige (1526-1609)*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1927), vol. I, 81; Guerra, *Nicolás Bautista Monardes*, 92-93, who does not reject the possibility, although without any documentary evidence in its favour. See the comments based on the information contained in the correspondence of Clusius by J.M. López-Piñero and M.L. López-Terrada, *La influencia española en la introducción en Europa de las plantas americanas (1493-1623)* (Valencia, 1997), 67 and 89-90.

to certain products of lesser importance and complementary notes on remedies that had already been discussed in Part I. Monardes also decided to include the transcription of a document of one of his informants. This was a long letter that Pedro de Osma, a soldier who had settled in Lima, sent to Monardes, whom he knew only through his work, in 1568. The letter contained a description of the properties of several medicinal products and was accompanied by samples of them.¹⁹ Among Monardes' informants in Part II we also find various soldiers from Florida, who had arrived in Seville between 1567 and 1568, and the Bishop of Cartagena, who arrived with the fleet of 1569 with valuable information about the tree that produced dragon's blood and the properties of the tail of the armadillo; the bishop personally sought out the physician 'because he was fond of the book that we produced on this herbal material' and gave him considerable information as well as some samples for his 'museum'.²⁰

Part III, dedicated to Pope Gregory XII and printed in 1574 together with the re-issue of Parts I and II, consisted of thirty-five shorter chapters containing complementary information on products that had already been discussed in the first two parts, as well as adding several new ones. As in the first two parts, most of the products were of vegetable origin, although a few were of animal or mineral origin. Among the latter, the account of bezoar stones is particularly noteworthy,²¹ not only because Monardes was a genuine expert on the subject,²² but also because bezoars form one of the categories of products on which Clusius decided to intervene at greater length in his Latin version, out of both personal interest and that of his friends.²³

¹⁹ Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 57r-62v.

²⁰ Ibid., 64v, 65v, 66v.

²¹ A concretion made of hair or other material found in the stomach or intestines of animals, especially ruminants. The name derives from the Arabic for 'antidote to poison', the main quality attributed to these 'stones'.

²² In fact, the first edition of Part I of the *Historia Medicinal* was published together with a treatise on two antidotes, one of which is the bezoar stone: *Dos libros. El uno trata de todas las cosas que traen de nuestras Indias occidentales que sirven al uso de Medicina [...] El otro libro, trata de las dos medicinas maravillosas que son contra todo Veneno, la piedra Bezaar y la yerva Escuerçonera* (Seville, 1565). In Part II of the *Historia medicinal* (1571), bezoar stones are once again the object of attention, this time in the letter of Pedro de Osma (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 57v-59v). This Lima-based soldier sent Monardes a dozen of these stones through the intermediary of the 'rich merchant' Juan Antonio Corzo, giving rise to an extensive 'expert' intervention on the part of Monardes to establish the difference between these and 'the ones they bring from the East Indies'. In the process he pointed out something more interesting: the number of people returning in the Indies fleets in those years who brought back bezoar stones taken from American animals with them (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 63r-63v). Finally, in Part III (1574) Monardes devoted a whole chapter to the same Peruvian bezoar stones (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 90r-92v).

²³ C. Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem: quibus animalium, plantarum, aromatum, aliorumque peregrin, frustum historiae describuntur* (Leiden, 1605), 326-330. On the interest of Clusius' friends see, for example, the

The way in which the material contained in the *Historia medicinal* is collected, organised and presented, which was to raise such peculiar problems for Clusius, represents a work in progress that goes into print as it advances. The author felt no need to spend too much time organising the material, nor on cataloguing products, information, informants, etc. On the other hand, this peculiar work in progress reveals in a fairly clear way the ideas and concepts deployed by the physician from Seville, his working method, and the role assigned to the various sources of information from which he constructed his work: the knowledge of the *indios*, the experience of the Christian colonisers, and his own practical experience in Seville with his patients, their illnesses, and the recently imported remedies. This is all far from Clusius' conception of the study of plants and animals, based on scientific practices that were much more closely linked with the tradition of natural history than with medical practice.

The *Historia medicinal* was a rapid and long-lasting success,²⁴ due fundamentally to three factors: its timeliness; its capacity to transmit credibility in the new medicines, based on the narrative of the author's practical experience; and the coherence and skill of exposition used to found this practice on the rational basis of the Galenic medical system. The latter had to show itself capable of integrating a knowledge considered exclusively empirical, in as much as it was derived from the Amerindian cultures and was thus by definition foreign to the sole 'philosophical and rational basis' that conferred the status of truth on the knowledge of therapeutic effects.

For, as we have emphasised, the *Historia medicinal* is implicitly based on native knowledge, although when this appears explicitly, it is justified from the rhetorical accusation of malevolence towards the *conquistadores* and of secrecy regarding the properties of the plants,²⁵ by the skill of the Christians

case of Arias Montano in J. Gil, *Arias Montano en su entorno [bienes y berederos]* (Mérida, 1998), 85-89; and in the letter from Plantin to Arias Montano, dated 18 September, 1581, published by A. Dávila-Pérez, *La correspondencia de Arias Montano conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus, de Amberes* (Madrid/Alcañiz, 2002), 441-446.

²⁴ At the death of its author, the work had already been translated into four languages and published, in full or in part, in seventeen other editions: six in Italian, five in Latin, three in French, and three in English. The work went through another fourteen editions in the following century: seven in Italian, three in French, two in Latin, one in English, and one in German. See J.M. López-Pinero *et al.*, *Bibliographia medica Hispanica, 1475-1950* (Valencia, 1987-89), vol. I, 150-160; vol. II, 176-180.

²⁵ Very clearly expressed by Pedro de Osma in his letter from Lima: 'We asked certain *indios* who were travelling with us in our service where those animals got those [bezoar] stones from, but as they were our enemies and did not want us to discover their secrets, they said that they knew nothing about those stones [...]'; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 57v-58r.

in extracting information,²⁶ or by pure chance.²⁷ In fact, Monardes went to great pains to disqualify the natives' use of the remedies. They were considered merely empirical and ignorant of the 'rational method' proper to the European Galenic physician, the only one authorised to 'experiment' and to pronounce judgement on the remedy.²⁸

In spite of all this, practically all of the medicinal remedies discussed in the *Historia medicinal* are of native origin, and this is reflected – directly or indirectly – in Monardes' account. In fact, we have found fifty-three explicit references to the names and uses of the plants by the Amerindians among the sixty-nine chapters that comprise all three parts of Monardes' complete work.

One of the most representative cases is that of the Mechoacán root, the main focus of attention in the first part, as the title of the first edition emphasised.²⁹ Knowledge of its purgative action is drawn from the illness of a Franciscan friar from the convent in the region of Mechoacán, New Spain, and his contact and 'very close friendship' with 'Cazoncin, *cacique* and lord of all that land'. The Indian chief sent 'one of his *indios* who was a physician', who administered 'some grains of a root'. After the friar had recovered, the Franciscan order distributed the remedy throughout New Spain. It soon reached Seville in the hands of a Genoan who sailed there from Mexico. He

²⁶ For example, the anonymous 'father Francisco', 'taught by an *indio* of that country, who was very knowledgeable about these things and was a great expert on the virtues' of plants, on the root of the *Carlo santo*; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 50v. But once again it is Pedro de Osma who expresses most clearly the usual ways for the Spaniards to gain access to native knowledge: their relations with the Amerindian women: 'we did not manage to find out [the properties of the plants] because the *indios*, being bad people and our enemy, would not divulge a secret nor a property of a herb, not even when a saw was applied [to their limbs], even though they witnessed us dying; but what we know about those I have described and about others, we know from the Amerindian women; when they get involved with Spaniards, they reveal [their secrets] and tell them all they know'; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 62v.

²⁷ Such as the use of tobacco against wounds from poisoned arrows: 'As the Carib Indians, who eat human flesh, shoot their arrows with a herb or composition made of many poisons [...] A short while ago, when some Caribs went in their canoes to San Juan de Puerto Rico to fire arrows at *Indios* or Spaniards [...] they killed some [...] and as the farmer did not have *solimán* to heal them, he agreed to apply tobacco juice [...]'; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 34v. Solimán was a corrosive powder compound of various substances, including mercury, that was generally used to close open wounds, to cauterise, or to staunch haemorrhages.

²⁸ Sometimes the disqualification focuses on the criticism that they do not have a precise method (precise weights or measures) for preparing a herbal remedy; for example, in his discussion of saffras: 'as the *indios* have neither weight nor measure, they have not kept any order in those parts in preparing the water of this tree'; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 42r.

²⁹ Nicolás Monardes. *Dos libros. El uno trata de todas las cosas que traen de nuestras Indias occidentales, que sirven al uso de Medicina y como se ha de usar la rayz del Mechoacan, purga excelentísima* [...] (Seville, 1565).

found Monardes ill, and upon being requested by the physician to administer a purgative, he replied that 'if there is need of a purgative', it should be the one that he had brought with him from Mechoacán.³⁰ This narrative pattern recurs time and again: supposedly secret information possessed by the Amerindians is revealed to the colonisers in one of the aforementioned ways, who ensure that it reaches the physician in the metropolis.³¹

There is thus a double transfer – a double translation – from the Amerindians (empirical users lacking the authority to have knowledge) to the colonisers (who are, generally speaking, ignorant of medicinal matters), and from the colonisers to Monardes, an academic physician, the only one qualified to experiment on his patients, to decide on the efficacy of the remedy, its method of preparation, and its comparison with others belonging to the corpus of medicines known at that time. For that is the objective that Monardes has in mind when he embarks on his *Historia medicinal*: to show his conviction that the remedies deriving from the Americas can be used as succedanea for those known from the classical pharmaceutical arsenal. In the last instance, the Americas are a reservoir of substitutes for known substances, though less expensive, more abundant and easier to obtain: copal 'is used instead of incense';³² the *indios* make oil from the *higuera del infierno* (*Jatropha multifida* L.) 'as Dioscorides teaches to make it from the castor-oil plant';³³ American *ocoxtol* is used 'instead of styrax';³⁴ balsam of Peru is used 'in imitation of real balsam';³⁵ the chile of the Indies is used 'for everything for which the aromatic spices that they bring from Maluco and Calicut are used';³⁶ American cassia is 'incomparably better than that which they bring from India to Venice, and which the galleys bring from there to Genoa and from Genoa to Spain';³⁷ the Mechoacán root ends up 'replacing the use of rhubarb of Barbary', and is even given

³⁰ Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 22v-23v.

³¹ See, for instance, the account of the 'discovery' of guajacum: 'An *Indio* gave notice of it to his master in the following manner: When a Spaniard who had been infected by an *India* was suffering great pains from swollen lymphs [*Bubas*], the *Indio* who was one of the physicians in that country gave him water of guajacum, which not only took away the pains he was suffering, but also cured the affliction: many Spaniards who were infected with the same complaint were cured by the same remedy, which was then brought from there by those who came here to Seville, and from here it spread throughout Spain, and from there throughout the whole world'; Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 10r.

³² *Ibid.*, 3r.

³³ *Ibid.*, 5r.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6v.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7v.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19v.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 20r.

the name ‘Rhubarb of the Indies’.³⁸ These examples are taken from Part I alone,³⁹ which ends with the following significant conclusion:

I consider how many trees and plants there are in our Indies which have great medicinal value [...] without seeking the spices of Maluco and the medicines of Arabia and Persia. For our Indies spontaneously provide them in the uncultivated fields and in the mountains.⁴⁰

Monardes’ translation of the American materials into the language of European medicine is even more evident if we consider the authentic editorial context to which the publication of each of the three parts of the *Historia medicinal* belongs. Students of this work have often neglected this fact, hopelessly weakening Monardes’ publishing project. For in our view, it is important to bear in mind that each of the three parts of the *Historia medicinal* was first published as part of editions which included other treatises by Monardes which were concerned not with the medicinal properties of products from the Americas, but with the traditional *materia medica* in Galenic medicine. Thus, in 1565 Part I was published together with a treatise on two antidotes;⁴¹ in 1571 Part II was published together with a treatise on the medicinal use of snow;⁴² and in 1574 Part III was published together with Parts I and II, the treatise on antidotes, the one on snow, and a new treatise on the use of iron.⁴³

Therefore, when Clusius, after more than thirty years’ experience of Monardes’ work, decided to incorporate the treatises on antidotes, snow and iron in his definitive production,⁴⁴ he was simply restoring the editorial plan

³⁸ Ibid., 23r.

³⁹ There are less examples in Parts II and III, although it can be found in the comparison of tobacco with *solimán* (see annotation in note 27) and oriental *bague* (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 34v and 37v, respectively); of *guacatane* with European ‘mountain mint’ (*Teucrium polium*) (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 54r); or of *cebadilla*, once again with *solimán* (Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 55r).

⁴⁰ Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 30r.

⁴¹ Monardes, *Dos libros*.

⁴² N. Monardes, *Segunda parte del libro de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales que sirven al uso de la medicina* [...] *Va añadido un libro de la nieve, do verán los que beven frío con ella, cosas dignas de saber y de grande admiración acerca del uso del enfriar con ella* (Seville, 1571).

⁴³ Nicolás Monardes, *Primera y segunda y tercera partes de la Historia medicinal* [...] *Tratado de la piedra bezaar y de la yerva escorçonera. Diálogo de las grandezas del Hierro y de sus virtudes medicinales. Tratado de la nieve y del bever frío* [...] *Van en esta impresión la tercera parte y el diálogo del bierro nuevamente hechos* [...] (Sevilla, 1574).

⁴⁴ Placed at the end of Book X of the *Exoticorum libri decem*, with frontispiece and separate pagination (Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 1–52), entitled: *Nicolai Monardi Hispalensis medici praestantissimi libri tres, magna medicinae secreta et varia experimenta continentes. Et illi quidem Hispanico sermone conscripti; nunc verò recens Latino donati à Carolo Clusio Atrebate. Horum seriem proxima pagina indicabit* [...] *Primus agit de lapide bezaar & herba scorçonera, duobus praestantissimis adversus venena medicamentis. Alter, de ferro, & eius insignibus facultatibus. Tertius, de nive, eius commodis.*

of Monardes in its entirety, although in a context, the *Exoticorum*, which qualified Monardes' entire oeuvre, covering both the Old World and the New, as 'exotic'. It is yet another example of how vague the boundaries between the exotic and the local, between the centre and the periphery, were in the construction of the knowledge of European natural history at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴⁵

Clusius and the Historia medicinal: Recataloguing the New World in the Old, 1569-1605

As has already been pointed out, it seems reasonable to rule out a personal encounter between Monardes and Clusius during the latter's stay in Seville at the beginning of 1565, in the light of the absence of any documentary evidence or other clues to support such a hypothesis. Clusius' first contact with the work of Monardes should therefore be dated to 1569, for it was in April and August of that year that Alfonso Pancio, the physician of the Duke of Ferrara, sent him a text containing a synthesis, in Latin, of Part I of the *Historia medicinal*, which Monardes had published in 1565.⁴⁶ Four years later, Clusius was still awaiting a copy of the original edition, to judge from the allusion made by his friend Arias Montano in a letter of August 1569.⁴⁷ Finally, in September 1571, during his stay in London, Clusius obtained the first two parts of the work (the second had been published in that very year in Seville).⁴⁸ It must have been in the course of 1573, as Clusius himself stated in 1605,⁴⁹ that he began to translate them into Latin and to prepare them for the edition that was to come off the Plantin presses in Antwerp in September 1574, with a royal privilege granted by Philip II, not by chance the same person to whom Monardes had dedicated Part II of his work three years earlier.

In the first edition, Clusius' intervention consisted of making the Latin translation and of unifying the two parts in a single work, modifying the order

⁴⁵ B.W. Ogilvie, 'The many books of nature. Renaissance naturalists and information overload', *Journal of the history of ideas*, 64 (2003), 29-40. Even beyond these chronological limits to the supposed foundation of modern botany with Linnaeus; on this see the interesting comments in S. Müller-Wille, 'Joining Lapland and the Topinambes in flourishing Holland: Center and periphery in Linnaean botany', *Science in context*, 16 (2003), 461-488.

⁴⁶ López Piñero and López Terrada, *La influencia española*, 89-90, following Hunger, *Charles de l'Ecluse*, vol. I, 106.

⁴⁷ J.L. Barona and X. Gómez, *La correspondencia de Carolus Clusius con los científicos españoles* (Valencia, 1998), 58-59.

⁴⁸ Hunger, *Charles de l'Ecluse*, vol. I, 118.

⁴⁹ 'Carolus Clusius candido Lectori', in Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 296: 'Istas duas partes anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo tertio nanciscebar, & ex Hispanico idiomate, quo descriptae erant, in Latinum sermonem convertēbam.'

of various chapters, considerably changing the iconographic apparatus of the original edition, and adding complementary comments and annotations of his own to certain chapters. These changes were essentially very similar to the way in which he had treated the *Coloquios* of Garcia da Orta in 1567, which were now reprinted together with the edition of Monardes, as Clusius himself mentioned in the dedication to Thomas Rediger.⁵⁰ The thirty-seven sections or chapters of the *Historia medicinal* were transformed into forty-three, mainly due to the fact that Clusius created separate chapters for the various balsamic resins discussed by Monardes, as well as the *hierba de Juan Infante* and the stones found in sharks and caymans, which had not been assigned separate chapters by the physician of Seville.⁵¹ More drastic was the profound reorganisation and arrangement of the chapters compared with the original; after having decided to combine Parts I and II in a single work, Clusius was obliged to recatalogue the materials, although he tried to respect the initial classificatory criterium of Monardes, for if we analyse Clusius' arrangement closely, we find that the organisational criterium is still that of the medicinal use of the remedies: aromatic resins first, followed by cures for *morbus gallicus*, medicinal 'woods' and 'stones' for various ailments, especially antidotes, and finally the important section on purgatives.⁵² In some way, these complex migrations from the texts of Monardes to an arrangement that Clusius offers over the years (1574, 1582, 1593, 1605) indicate a crescendo in the decataloguing of the American materials discussed by the physician of Seville, in order to mark them with a taxonomy of Clusius' own devising, which considerably increases their distance from the natural world of the Americas. This distance was already present in Monardes, but in Clusius' Latin version it is consolidated as an unfathomable distance from the natural world of the Americas, which is now no more than a distant, vague horizon, the source of fragments of plants, pieces of stones, animal viscera, seeds that come to fruition with difficulty in European soil, and names of uncertain orthography.

⁵⁰ 'Et cum Plantinus noster Aromatum historiam recudere vellet, eam auctiorem, & locupletioribus annotationibus, iconibusque insuper illustratam (quoniam eiusdem sunt argumenti) huic coniungendam tradidi': N. Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 4. The new edition of the Portuguese author: Garcia ab Orta, *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia [...] nunc vero Latino sermone in epitomem contracta, et iconibus ad vivum expressis, locupletioribusque annotatiunculis illustrata a Carolo Clusio* (Antwerp, 1574).

⁵¹ 'Resina ab legna' and 'Resina Carthaginensis'; 'Herba Ioannis Infantis'; and 'Lapis Tiburonum' and 'Lapis Caymanum': Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 20, 28, 52 and 53, respectively.

⁵² In this respect, the classification of tobacco could appear the most problematic, but this was inevitable given that, in the work of Monardes, it is a remedy for a multitude of ailments and its uses resemble almost all the other categories of products. Monardes placed it at the beginning of Part II, but Clusius decided to move it to the end of the section on aromatic resins and balsams, right before the cures for *morbus gallicus*; Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 21-28.

As far as the illustrations are concerned, Clusius' translation is even more radical in its distancing effect. In fact, Clusius decided to make a clean break with the images used by Monardes: of the ten engravings that he included in his first edition, only that of the armadillo and of the *pimienta luenga*⁵³ have their counterparts among the twelve engravings in Part II of *Historia medicinal*.⁵⁴ The other eight are connected with Clusius' commentary and have no counterparts in the corresponding chapters of Monardes.

The fundamental aspects of Clusius' intervention were already established in the first edition of Monardes' materials (1574), beginning with the Latin translation – which was not to receive any substantial modifications, but only minor corrections – and ending with the criteria for the rearrangement and reorganisation of the chapters, including the form and style of the annotations and images. Certainly, the subsequent editions of Parts I and II increase the number of notes, as well as their length in some cases, but do not reveal any change of orientation in the general criteria adopted by Clusius for editing Monardes in Latin.⁵⁵

The main novelty of the edition of 1593 was to bring together the translation of all three parts of the *Historia medicinal* for the first time, for when Clusius had finally edited Part III in 1582, he did so without the other two parts.⁵⁶ This time, however he did no more than combine a reprint of that edition (with a new frontispiece and continuous pagination)⁵⁷ with a new edition of Parts I and II, which had been published in 1574 and reprinted in 1579. However, the novel features of the edition of 1593 went further, for Clusius modified seven of his annotations of 1574 (considerably enlarging them in some cases), as well as including for the first time the two well-known engraving of the tobacco plant and a new engraving to his commentary on purgative beans.⁵⁸

⁵³ Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 66r and 70v; and Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 55 and 71, respectively.

⁵⁴ Part I does not have any illustrations; Part III has only a small engraving of the receptacle containing the bezoar stones from Peru, which Clusius did not include until 1605; Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 327.

⁵⁵ N. Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe delatorum* (Antwerp, 1579) is considered to be a simple reprint of the edition of 1574. On the other hand, the following should be considered to be new editions: N. Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe India nascentium liber* (Antwerp, 1593), and C. Clusius, 'Exoticorum liber decimus: sive simplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum, quorum in Medicina usus est, Historia', in *Exoticorum libri decem* (Leiden, 1605), 295-354.

⁵⁶ N. Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe delatorum [...] historiae liber tertius* (Antwerp, 1582).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 410-456.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 337-338 and 377, respectively.

The number of chapters with annotations in Part III is sixteen,⁵⁹ bringing the total number of products on which Clusius provided commentaries or annotations up to thirty-three, almost twice as many as in 1574, although in ten cases the commentary had not changed during the interval of nineteen years.

When Clusius was preparing the *Exoticorum* – the major intellectual project on exotic flora and fauna that he began towards the end of his life – he devoted most of his effort to a satisfactory integration of Part III of the *Historia medicinal* in the orderly arrangement into which he had always wanted to convert his edition of Monardes' material.⁶⁰ In fact, the major novelty of the edition, which was included as Book X of the *Exoticorum*, was this unification, in seventy-seven chapters. The chapters were now numbered for the first time, as a sign that Clusius wanted to draw attention to the novelty of his organisational activity. These were not the only innovations. Clusius wrote seven new notes, bringing the number of annotated chapters up to forty, covering more than half of the products dealt with by Monardes. Certainly, three of these new notes were very dry, as in the case of the *lignum aromaticum*.⁶¹ This continuous effort is even clearer in the ten notes that were expanded in 1605, including the inclusion of three new engravings: the *guayaci ramulus*, a fragmentary branch to which the extensive enlargement of his commentary on the guajacum is devoted,⁶² and the *lapis tiburonum* and *lapis bezar*; the latter was one of the products that attracted Clusius' most intense interest throughout his career, as can be seen from the references to it in the correspondence with his friends, the progressive history of the annotations, and the additions, including illustrations, that he made to his successive editions of the *Historia medicinal*.⁶³

The images in Clusius' edition are always related to his commentaries and the essential criterium by which they are chosen and which tends to make them independent of the *Historia medicinal*. It is an original appropriation – albeit partial and fragmentary – dictated by the objective of showing his readers his own 'experience' with exotic materials. This experience was determined by the peculiar conditions of access to those materials and to certain criteria of proof and demonstration of that experience which seem to be based on the

⁵⁹ Plus a few small notes in the letter from Pedro de Osma to Monardes, which concluded this version of the Clusian recataloguing; Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum*, 394-402.

⁶⁰ The text that he placed at the beginning of Book X, to explain to the 'candido lectori' the full gestation of the *Historia medicinal* and of his own version, is significant in this respect; Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 296.

⁶¹ Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 324.

⁶² Ibid., 314.

⁶³ Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 52-54, without illustrations; Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum*, 363-365 and 447-454, with two new engravings; Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 326-330, with a third new engraving.

‘authority’ that is conferred on it by its erudite readings and by the wide network of ‘*eminentissimi ac illustrissimi viri*’ that Clusius had managed to create around him and which, time and again, he conjures up before the eyes of his readers.

This can be made clear by the example of the sassafras tree, a key product in Part II of the *Historia medicinal*, second only to tobacco, and to which a full-page illustration was dedicated.⁶⁴ Monardes wrote that the ‘wood and root’ of this tree were a medicinal product ‘of great properties’, introduced by the Amerindians to the French who had tried to settle in the peninsula of Florida. It had reached Monardes through a French intermediary three years earlier (i.e. in 1566-67).⁶⁵ From that moment on, the physician of Seville tried out the ‘marvellous effects’ of the sassafras on his patients; ten pages of his work are devoted to the details of these experiments. Clusius, following his usual practice, translated the entire chapter faithfully enough, although he decided to get rid of the image of the sassafras tree.⁶⁶ It is in his commentary, however, that his intervention takes a completely different turn from Monardes. In the first of the five paragraphs, certainly, he states how ‘recently’ (the year of writing is 1573) he had received from ‘Francisco Zennig Pharmacopola Bruxellensi diligentissimo, mihi que amicissimo’ a wood whose scent and flavour corresponded to Monardes’ description, but the rest of the annotation has nothing to do with the sassafras. The scent of that wood – which is taken to correspond to the one described by Monardes – reminds Clusius of that of the *molle* tree that his friend Jean de Brancion (‘splendidissimo illustriss. viro’) had managed to cultivate in his garden in Mechelen. This leads Clusius to expatiate on this other tree from Peru and to reproduce a full-page image of one of its branches.⁶⁷ Without a break, we have passed from the anonymous ‘French’ of Florida and the witnesses to Monardes’ successful experiments with the sassafras in Seville, to a pharmacist from Brussels and the charming garden of his friend Brancion, and to a discussion of the ‘history’ of a tree, having recourse to his scholarly erudition to illustrate the ‘properties’ of the ‘wine’ that is extracted from it in a gloss on what Clusius was able to find in Pedro Cieza de León’s *Chronica del Perú*.⁶⁸ In 1593, Clusius substantially modified the paragraph of his commentary on how the sassafras came into his hands: logically enough,

⁶⁴ Monardes, *Historia medicinal*, 39v-49v; the engraving is on 39v.

⁶⁵ ‘The Frenchman who had been in those parts’ probably reached Seville after the expedition of Menéndez de Avilés in 1565 to dislodge the French from the settlement that they had established one year earlier in Florida.

⁶⁶ Monardes, *De simplicibus medicamentis*, 44-47.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 48, the engraving is on 49.

⁶⁸ P. Cieza de León, *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú* (Seville, 1553), 111-117.

the now obsolete ‘recently’ has been removed, while the reference to the apothecary from Brussels has now been expanded with the words ‘proximis his anniis Londino ab aliis etiam amicissimis viris C. V. Richardo Garth, Hugone Morgano pharmacipoea Regio & Iacobo Gareto iuniore mihi Viennam missi magna eaque libralia fragmenta’, unfolding before the reader’s eyes a fragment of the map of Clusian geography formed by contacts, readings and erudite notes, friends and important persons.⁶⁹ Finally, in 1605 he adds that his friend James Garet, apothecary in London, had sent him a fragment of sassafras in 1600, but he still cannot take his mind off the *molle* tree and adds new information that widens even further that radically European, radically Old World personal map.⁷⁰

Clusius’ decisive intervention in the text of Monardes thus lies in the commentaries and related images. These commentaries are of two kinds. On the one hand, Clusius establishes a body of bibliographical references from which he selects for his readers some item of discussion related to the plant and either its novelty or its shared identity with an Old World plant, forming a sort of Clusian library. On the other hand, Clusius provides an extensive and varied list of persons who have provided him with information, drawings, and plants or parts of them. He considers it necessary to make their testimony explicit to the reader, most of the time to lend authority to his own account. In both cases – the bibliographical references and the personal references – their function is above all to provide the authority that the commentator appropriates to establish what is in need of commentary (and if so, of what kind), and what is not in the text that he is translating.

The library on which Clusius drew to comment on Monardes consists of a group of a few works that he uses relatively frequently, and another group of works on which he draws only sporadically. The first group consists, essentially, of works by Francisco López de Gómara, Pedro Cieza de León (each used in nine commentaries),⁷¹ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (used on seven

⁶⁹ N. Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum*, 359–361.

⁷⁰ C. Clusius, ‘Exoticorum liber decimus: sive simplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum, quorum in Medicina usus est, Historia’, in *Exoticorum libri decem*, 322. The references to his friends and his fragmentary possessions of branches, roots and seeds of the *molle* are now extended to include the physicians Simón de Tovar and Everardus Vorstius, because the former wrote from Seville in 1593 on the ‘grapes’ of the *molle*, and the latter told Clusius that he had managed to cultivate an exemplar in Rome. Finally, he relates his own experience with a *molle* seed in England and offers as his ultimate and final authority on the subject ‘C. V. Matthia de Lobel’, whose drawing appears in his commentary on balsam, which had not yet been published. All of this, it should be recalled, is to be found in a note commenting on Monardes’ chapter on the sassafras, from whose wood a ‘water’ was extracted that the *Indios* of Florida used to cure ‘their ailments’.

⁷¹ F. López de Gómara, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias, con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido desde que se ganaron asta el año de 1551. Con la conquista de México y de la nueva España* (Medina del Campo, 1553) and P. Cieza de León, *Primera parte*.

occasions),⁷² and Juan Fragoso (whose name appears five times).⁷³ Among the second group we find a total of seventeen authors, four of whom are cited on three occasions (Agustin de Zárate,⁷⁴ Jean de Léry,⁷⁵ André Thevet,⁷⁶ and Garcia da Orta),⁷⁷ while the others are only cited once or twice. Clusius also refers to his own works: three times to other parts of the *Exoticorum*,⁷⁸ and once to his *Per Hispanias*.⁷⁹ Moreover, two of the three references to Garcia da Orta are actually references to Clusius' scholia, not to the text of the Portuguese writer.

Clusius' temporally and spatially extensive re-reading thus leads to a decisive and radical modification of the original work, in sharp contrast to his relative fidelity with regard to the translation of Monardes' text and his criteria for grouping and classifying the products.

By way of conclusion

Clusius did everything possible to integrate the work of Monardes in his own *Exoticorum* project. To that end, he turned his attention to the botanical materials deriving from the New World, to which his attitude was primarily scholarly, since his attempts to gain knowledge based on his own experience were conducted with fragments, pieces of branches or roots, seeds that did not always grow, rotten fruit, dried herbs, etc.

⁷² G. Fernández de Oviedo, *Primera parte de la historia natural y general de las Indias, yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano* (Seville, 1535). Clusius also knew Oviedo's earlier work that anticipated the *Historia natural y general*, his *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526), quoting from it in the 1593 edition: see N. Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum*, 440.

⁷³ J. Fragoso, *Discursos de las cosas Aromáticas, árboles y frutales, y de otras muchas medicinas simples que se traen de la India Oriental, y sirven al uso de la medicina* (Madrid, 1572).

⁷⁴ A. de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú, con las cosas naturales que señaladamente allí se hallan, y los sucesos que ha auido* (Antwerp, 1555).

⁷⁵ J. de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique* (La Rochelle, 1578).

⁷⁶ A. Thevet, *Les singularitéz de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique & de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes de nostre temps* (Paris, 1557).

⁷⁷ Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India* (Goa, 1563). Clusius translated this work into Latin long before he came into contact with Monardes' work: D. Garcia ab Orta, *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia* (Antwerp, 1567). After this first edition, Clusius' translation and commentaries to the *Coloquios* of Garcia da Orta accompanied the editorial adventure of the Clusian translation of Monardes in the successive editions of 1574, 1579, 1593; of course, the work was also included in the *Exoticorum libri decem* of 1605.

⁷⁸ Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem*, 324 (*lignum aromaticum*, reference to lib. 4, cap. 11), 326 (on *lapis tiburum*, reference to lib. 6, cap. 18) and 330 (on *armadillo*, reference to lib. 5, cap. 15).

⁷⁹ C. Clusius, *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatarum historia, libris duobus expressa* (Antwerp, 1576). It concerns Clusius' commentary on the chapter that Monardes devoted to the *Caçavi*; the commentary first appeared in Clusius, *Simplicium medicamentorum*, 440.

It is obvious that Monardes' approach was a particular one, since he never set foot on the other side of the Atlantic either and his primary interest was in collecting information that would enable him to know the potential of the American plants as efficacious medicinal remedies within the conceptions of the Galenic medicine in use, often as succedanea for the exotic medicinal products that did not come from the Americas and which he presented as more expensive, less abundant, and less effective.

In fact, as the examples quoted have been intended to show, both Monardes and Clusius present us less with gazes of the New World than with rapid glimpses of what was brought by ships (Monardes) or sent by friends (Clusius), before rapidly refocusing on that Old World that enveloped them and called for their genuine attention.

Monardes already presupposes a consolidated distancing of the other, but Clusius accentuates this process to the point of rendering the other almost invisible, like a distant horizon that fades into the background. Clusius faithfully translates the passages in which Monardes presents the knowledge of the Amerindians about their plants, but in doing so he codifies them in such a way that the Latin reader whom he is addressing receives a sort of fossilised version of the text of Monardes. This fossilisation is primarily due to Clusius' manifest lack of interest in all that Monardes conveys concerning the knowledge and practices of the Amerindians, or concerning his experiments with his patients and the effects of the remedies. This explains why his notes never add anything on these points, except when his published source has something to say, as in the case, for example, of the names in Náhuatl that he adds thanks to his reading of López de Gómara, or the Tupi words that he includes thanks to his reading of Jean de Léry. Clusius' exposure of the texts of Monardes to his readings and to what his friends have sent him certainly separates the Clusian translation from that fondness for 'experience' lacking in erudition that Monardes almost always imposed on himself.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the natural world of the Americas seems to have been relegated by European intellectuals to the status of a quarry (a quarry that they had never visited, in most cases) whose only function was to supply new succedanea, variations on or exceptions to the flora and fauna of the Old World.

Instead of referring to the perception of the other, rapidly ignored for their incapacity to confer meaning on the knowledge that has to be extracted from the plants, we can speak of an authentic expropriation of the other by way of an apparent interest in or respect for their names, plants, ailments and remedies. The expropriation is already perceptible in Monardes, and much more so when Clusius translates him for his readers. What is conveyed to them is thus a definitively fragmented American nature, converted into

dozens of products, some of them succedanea for other known products, that are only useful for the construction of European knowledge if they are tested by the authorised experience of the only ones who can give them meaning. In the last resort, it is the names of those *clarissimi eruditissimique viri* that have passed into the irreversible construction of the history of European natural science thanks, among other things, to the Clusian annotations.

To gaze at the other – to collect this or that of their names, their plants, their healing practices – is only a form of self-reflection, never a way of thinking about the other. Alterity is the excuse to return to oneself and to insist that the only gaze that deserves to be reflexive and eternal is the one turned on oneself; the others are just glimpses, rapid and furtive glances by those who only want to return rapidly to the mirror that reflects time after time their own image, though without understanding anything of what the mirror offers or conceals.

